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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. 1.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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132 subject to severe droughts at times. A drought of four years' duration has recently broken in Hiva Oa, and not long ago there was one in Ua Pou that lasted seven years. The uncertainty of rainfall and these occasional droughts have affected directly the native culture.

The climate of these islands is rather subtropical than tropical. Like all the small Pacific islands that lie in the course of the trade winds, they are never torrid. At times during rains the atmosphere may be humid, but for the most part it is dry. The temperature varies only about twenty degrees the year round, approximately from 70° to 90° F. The equable climate of the group is due to the cooling of the trade winds and the tempering of the sea.

133 [134] The Marquesas Islands are volcanic. The material is black lava, very coarse in some places and very fine grained in others; red tufa; basalt; and conglomerate deposits. The rapid degeneration, crumbling, falling away, and eroding of the softer materials lead to the coasts and valley walls being precipitous, high and rugged. The harder basalt in many instances forms jagged spines. The ridges and spurs leading from the main mountainous backbone, which may be said, roughly, to traverse the mid-portion of each of the islands in the direction of its greatest length, run directly to the sea. Between them are the valleys, cut deep by the streams, which drain the mountainous interior. The charts of the Marquesas are misleading in that those regions of the islands which could not be viewed from the sea, whence the coastal surveys were made, are marked, "Plateau." There is no genuine plateau region: the interiors of the islands are mountainous. The maximum elevations of the main islands in feet are as follows: Fatu Hiva, 3151; Tahu Ata, 3280; Hiva Oa, 3904; Ua Pou, 4040; Ua Huna, 2305; Nuku Hiva, 3890. There are no protecting coral reefs, the shores being too precipitous, although a little coral grows in the bottoms of some bays. Hence the coast is unprotected and there are few beaches. There is practically no level land either along the shores or in the valley bottoms.

The marked influence of environment on the people and on their culture may be noted briefly. The isolation of deep valleys, inacessibility by land and by sea, had much to do with the tribal development, continuous warfare, and the lack of a nationalistic tendency in political organization such as that which developed in Tonga, Tahiti, the Cook group, and Hawaii. Since the region is not suited to agricultural development, the [251] droughts and consequent famines brought about the preservation of ● 262] breadfruit paste in holes in the ground, breadfruit being the most prolific of all foods growing in these islands, and hence, the staple. The non-

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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used; but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

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the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *avu avu*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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854 753 [262] For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 824] the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 [769] The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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241 312 In the valley of Haka Moui I examined the remains of a small plantation with six very regular terraces on the hillside above the stream. The supporting walls were from two and a half to three feet high. The group of terraces was about one hundred and fifty feet long and ended at each end with an enclosing wall. Plantations of this type were observed in Taiohae Valley on Nuku Hiva. There are similar ancient taro patches in Atu Ona, Hana Menu, Hana Ui, Hana Iapa, and Pua Ma'u and doubtless in most of the other valleys of Hiva Oa. The distribution of this type of agriculture in the group seems, therefore, to have been general. That such plantations were not more common is due in the first place to the lack of level land and to the hillsides being for the most part very steep and rocky and in the

FIGURE 21.—A stone-enclosed irrigation ditch.

second place to the fact that, owing to the climate and soil, breadfruit and not taro became the staple of the natives.

Today taro is planted only to a small extent, chiefly in marshy places and in small patches along the borders of streams; but it is planted occasionally in the larger plantations that remain intact from pre-European days.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND ROTATION OF MENUS[18]

241 262 Although quantity rather than quality seems to have always characterized the native menu, yet there was a surprising variety of dishes in ancient times, and even today a prolific breadfruit (*mei*) season revives several of them along with community cooking. For now, as always, Marquesas menus follow the rotation of breadfruit seasons and depend for their compilation upon the comings and goings, the abundance or the dearth, of this

[18] The section on Preparation of Food and Rotation of Menus was written by Willowdean C. Handy.

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staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says:

> Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei, mei nui,* are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei, mei momo,* or *ki'ihi,* as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma,* other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground.

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

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784 778 the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman embodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

262 784 *Tapu*, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

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member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself.

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft.

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits.

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. "In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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two others. His eyes were fixed on the ship, and his countenance was like that of an angel, with an aspect and spirit that promised much, of a good colour, not fair but white; his locks like that of a lady who valued them much. He was all that has been said, so that I never in my life felt such pain as when I thought that so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.[1]

The natives came with much speed and fury, rowing their canoes, pointing with their fingers to their port and land, speaking loudly, and often using the words *atalut* and *analut*. They came to our ships, and when they arrived they gave us cocoa-nuts, a kind of food rolled up in leaves, good plantains, and large canes[2] full of water. They looked at the ships, the people, and the women who had come out on the galley to see them, at whom they looked, and laughed at the sight. They got one to put his hand on the ship, and, with coaxing, they got him to come on board. The Adelantado dressed him in a shirt and put a hat upon his head, which, when the others saw, they laughed and looked, crying out to the rest. On this about forty came on board, beside whom the Spaniards seemed of small stature. Among them there was one taller than the rest by a head and shoulders, and taller than our best men, though we had one very tall. They began to walk about the ship with great boldness, taking hold of whatever was near them, and many of them tried the arms of the soldiers, touched them in several parts with their fingers, looked at their beards and faces, with other monkey tricks. As they saw that our men were dressed in various colours, they were confused; so the soldiers bared their breasts, let down their stockings, and tucked up their sleeves to satisfy them. When they were shown this, they quieted down, and were much pleased.

[1] Suarez de Figueroa quotes all this word for word, and here says that he is quoting from the papers of the Chief Pilot.

[2] Joints of bamboos in which they carry water.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

[321 324]

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

[262]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom.

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, besmear themselves like the men. 1804. May.

The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, however, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

*304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a*, coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

*304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

*304 262

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921) 1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apartments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning.

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki* (*patu*, to mark or strike; *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice.

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *kou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty-five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His importance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

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A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)."

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up."

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment.